1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[29] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *maidomo*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[30]

[29] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Mandoch (1930, p. 140) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[30] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his sons or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Moyuela*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1918): under *lolloikon*, *pailawe*, *pelpel*, *wetkawe*, *wolawe*.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Moyuela-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (*cuga*, *ciga*, *cunga*; also *elga*) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: *linaje*, *descendencia*, *casa*, *familia*, *parentela*, *parentesco* (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. *ciga*; Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:106; Febrés, 1882, s.v. *elga*; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1875, p. 139); *genos*, *progenies*, *familia*, *gens*, *stirps*, *stemma* (Havestadt, 1883, 1:277, 288, 2:940–41); *cast* (*cast caste*), *family* (Falkner, 1835, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:289; 2:941; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true *sib*.

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

older children, too—who came to the window to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a keupajun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A keupajun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the gifeton. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 575 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called ceco, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An ceco is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 180, 183). During a finito Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Margarita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 576

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized custom in states (1946, pp. 709, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba mate. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 709). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had enjoyed a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the children to eat it. Three young boys came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 577 [49]

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are usually always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 578 [543]

10: Bilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Chile

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, INHERITANCE, CRIMINALITY

Formal divorce, the result of an action by mutually empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred living with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Pangipulli town it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. His informant had heard that her cheeks were even slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his cabin and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' house. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people avoided them a."

IN-LAW TABOOS, PERSON RELATIONSHIPS

In Catholque town, mother-in-law–son-in-law and father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. A ten-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alegria and Pangipulli informants, including several older than 80,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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insisted that no in-law taboos ever existed among them. "Those are not our customs; they are not now, and never were."

According to Cotiaripe informants the mother-in-law and son-in-law were not allowed to speak to each other after the marriage ceremonial; neither were the father-in-law and daughter-in-law. "These could all talk to each other freely for the last time at the marriage feast." The father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboo, however, was not so severe as the mother-in-law–son-in-law taboo. "A father-in-law will speak to his daughter-in-law and she with him, but with a certain degree of reserve; I know my wife talks that way to my father. It would be difficult if they could not speak together at all, for a man takes his wife to his father's ruka and they live there until he builds his own; a man never lives in his mother-in-law's ruka." A listening-in woman interjected, "The father-in-law bought the woman for his son. He, therefore, certainly has a right to talk to her; even to command her." "Whenever I went to the ruka of my parents-in-law, my mother-in-law did not leave the ruka—after all there was no place else for her to go—but I could not talk to her. If I had anything to transact with her, I had one of her sons or her daughter do the talking. But I really seldom have anything to talk about with my mother-in-law."

A 60-year-old Cotiaripe area woman told of a screen of quila that a woman erected near her fireplace so as to have a place behind which to sit during her son-in-law's visits: "The mother-in-law does not look at him; she does not want to look at him; it embarrasses her to do so. She has erected for herself a row of quila stocks near the fireplace, that is, near the place where she customarily sits. Here she sits when her son-in-law visits her ruka. If other visitors come, she sits there too, but at the edge of the screen, from where she can visit." She added, with much emphasis and some anger, "It is a shocking thing to see a Chilean mother-in-law shake hands with her son-in-law. There is no respect in the world today!"

No reason for the custom of in-law taboos was known "unless it was that these persons had great respect for each other. But, in general, it has always been our custom for men to talk to men and women to women."

An occasional man or woman of the present generation pays no attention to these taboos. "There seems no sense in them," said a 50-year-old woman. "Certainly, my husband talks to my mother." She herself talked to her father-in-law in my presence.

Joking relationships were probably not institutional. Persons with whom one might joke were not necessarily persons with whom one was expected to joke. It seems more likely that certain relatives were ex-

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

606 child from those with whom one might joke; such persons were those older than oneself, persons affected by in-law taboos (in Collorico area), and persons to whom one owed conventional courtesies. More specifically, a man may joke, but does not need to do so, with the younger sisters of his wife; with those older than his wife he is to show reserve. A woman may joke with the younger brothers of her husband, but need not do so; she is to show reserve when speaking to the older brothers of her husband. A man will not joke with his brother's wife, even if she is younger than he. Children of the same age who are cross-cousins may tease each other when they meet, but never may a younger one do so to an older one. A woman may say to a young girl relative whom she may meet, "Are you not looking for a man?" But never may the girl say it to a woman. Neither could a young man say it to a girl cousin, "for it would show very bad courtesy. It is really not allowed."

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING, NE ANEN

776 The Supreme Being was spoken of as both the creator of the world (pundongchin) and the ruler of the world or lord of all creation (guenechen). (Cooper's sources, 1946, pp. 709-743, and Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 38, are in agreement with this.) "They are identical," said the informant, "just two names for one person." Prayers were addressed to the Supreme Being under both titles. In general, however, prayers were directed to guenechen for matters pertaining to the earth: "I say, 'You, guenechen, who are in the middle of heaven and are mighties, grant that what we have sowed will bring harvest; and that our animals will multiply. Send us rain and sunshine.' That is how we pray when we pray directly to God." Nguénagchin was prayed to "when there was sickness in a family, and in general for protection for a family in all things." Generally, today, God is spoken of, and is addressed, as thou (father).

According to Cooper's sources the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order of things; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him (1946, p. 710). My informants were agreed that punishment was meted out to individuals and/or all the people while they were on earth. "Guenechen sends punishment by sending weather like we are having this summer [drought]," said one; "He punishes us because so many Mapuche do not like to pray, and are not praying." Another, a 70-year-old man, said, "My grandfather was a real Mapuche; he

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Arawcanians SC4
Argentina

She explained, "We may the same to each person as he came up on his horse, such as 'How comes my aunt?' 'How comes my father?' They came to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai, Chachai, Chachai, Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolojam, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Gee, here, is pillon.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the house of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS AIDES, SACRED PERSONS

The idea of God as creator is expressed as Into chon or my chon; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as quondale; as the

B:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche

596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have opposed the extended family and the *lofche*, although the 618 latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority 622.1 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be somewhat similar to the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements evaporate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuilen* (*moyo*, breast; *puilen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the inter-generational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special relationship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

[4] Guevara, 1908:57, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and mined through the marriages shown, then *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chechki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *fuku* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships *within a matrilateral system*, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 754 754 796 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the *nillatun*. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [155] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 754 626 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. [596] This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households [606] between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential